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jewelled mitres and vestments of gold, assisted by priests and deacons whose "Garments and Accoutrements", in the words of a seventeenth-century divine, "are very Glorious and different"; of richly decorated churches where lamps burn day and night before the eikons of the saints. But let him go also to a house which stands beside the great basilica of St. Demetrius at Salonica and he will find himself in a gathering of students and professional men, the atmosphere of which recalls a nonconformist prayer-meeting; and to the adjoining hall where children shout the vernacular hymns of the catechetical schools, or where a young woman expounds a chapter of the Greek New Testament to an audience of housewives.

Christendom and the course of church history take on a very different aspect when one's vantage point lies to the eastward of the Adriatic: whether it be Constantinople or Jerusalem, Mount Athos or Alexandria. For the Greek Christian the visible fold of the Church is made up of the four ancient patriarchates of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria and Constantinople, together with the patriarchate of Moscow and certain autocephalous churches. Beyond the frontiers of the Orthodox Church all is obscure and uncertain: to be committed to the boundless mercy of God, and approached (when circumstances require it) with wariness and circumspection. "As for the English Liturgy", runs the *Answer of the Orthodox of the East to the proposals sent from Britain for an union and agreement with the Oriental Church*, "we are unacquainted with it, having never either seen or read it; but we have some suspicion of it, because many and various Heresies, Schisms and Sects have arisen up in those parts, lest the hereticks should have introduced into it any corruption or deviation from the right Faith. Upon this account it is necessary we should both see and read it. . . ."

Within this outer darkness of heresy and schism the Greek is not given to nice distinctions, and strange confusions, baffling to the western mind, are common. A friend of mine was catechised at some length as to who it was who commemorated the Pope in the liturgy, by an old monk of Athos who was equally prepared to attribute this weighty offence to the Lutherans or to the Methodists! The persisting error of the patriarch of the west is seen in the same light as those of the reformers, as a hankering after innovation and new-fangled ways:

> Some time since [write the eastern patriarchs to "the Remnant of Primitive Piety"] the Pope of Rome, being deceived by the

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malice of the Devil and falling into strange novel doctrines, revolted from the unity of the Holy Church, and was cut off; and is now like a tattered rag of the sail of the spiritual vessel of the Church, which formerly consisted and was made up of five parts, four of which continue in the same state of unity and concord, and by these we easily and calmly sail through the ocean of this life, and without difficulty pass over the waves of heresy till we arrive within the haven of salvation. But he who is the fifth part, being separated from the entire sail . . . is unable to perform his voyage, and therefore we behold him at a distance, tossed with constant waves and tempest till he return to our catholic, apostolic, oriental and immaculate faith, and be reinstated in the sail from whence he was torn off: for this will make him secure and able to weather the spiritual storms and tempests that beset him. . . .

Gregory, by the mercy of God Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome and Oecumenical Patriarch, writes on September 26th, 1869, to "the most holy Archbishop, the Metropolitan of Canterbury, and Exarch of the Christians of the Anglican Confession in Great Britain, the Lord Archibald Campbell," to acknowledge the receipt of a copy of the English Book of Common Prayer which that dignitary had caused to be sent him. After having examined the said book to "ascertain how far it inclines to or diverges from genuine evangelical and catholic teaching" the Patriarch reluctantly confesses that it contains statements which appear "to savour too much of novelty"; these statements, he concludes, "throw us into suspense, so that we doubt what we are to judge of the rule of Anglican orthodoxy".

These passages are characteristic of the Greek view of Christendom. While the Orthodox Church faithfully preserves the tradition of the undivided Church—"neither adding anything, or taking anything from it"—the western world, encouraged by the evil example of its chief bishop, has confounded the faith once delivered to the saints with "strange, novel doctrines", the fruit of human reasoning; and when holy tradition has once been set at naught there can be no certainty and no "right worship": the saving truth of God is henceforth mingled with the vain imaginings of sinful men.

[123] In the spring of 1950 I made an expedition to the westward of Siatista with a small escort of local militia. The leader of the party questioned me as to the state of Christianity in England.

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"The English," he demanded, "are Catholics?"

"No," said I, "though there is in England a Catholic minority far larger than in Greece."

"The English are *diamartyromenoi* (Protestants), then?"

"Indeed, no," said I, knowing something of the associations of the term for the Greek mind; "the English are not Protestants."

The *kapetanios* was perplexed; and then, after a moment's reflection he suddenly exclaimed with enormous satisfaction:

"So, then, the English are simple Christians!"

Needless to say, where the prevailing ignorance is so abysmal much can depend—for good or ill—upon chance encounters and odd scraps of information. There are those whose knowledge of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* would seem to be limited to the fact that she is divided as irrevocably as Caesar's Gaul into three parts, high, low and broad: though the significance of these mysterious divisions eludes their comprehension. Others know her only through the widely publicised activities of certain of the more idiorrhythmic of her dignitaries. Occasionally, however, a happier encounter affords the suspicious Greek ecclesiastic a glimpse of something which he can recognise as familiar amid the obscurity in which the west is veiled: which may even prompt him to inform his wondering flock, when he preaches to them the following Sunday, that in the mysterious providence of the *Pantocrator*, though all the territories of the patriarch of the west have fallen into heresy, some remnant of primitive orthodoxy has been preserved in those islands whence came Byron and Codrington and the *Kyrios* Churchill.

It was my custom when travelling in Greece to carry with me several copies of a Greek translation of the Scottish Communion Office. The recipients of this work included the abbot of a certain monastery, whose hospitality I had enjoyed: a rigorist who regarded all that lay beyond the pale of Orthodox Christendom as unrelieved darkness and heresy. It was some months before I stayed at the monastery again, and my visit coincided with a festival. After the liturgy the abbot invited several of those who had been present in church to the guest-chamber, where coffee and cognac were served by a deacon. The inevitable catechism ensued:

"The *Kyrios* is not a Greek?"

"No, he is a stranger."

"From what country?"

"He comes from England."

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123 "Ah! from England."
795 "Yes, he is a *theologos* from Oxford."
798 "He is Orthodox?"

At this point another of the visitors, a high-school teacher from Cyprus, rashly asserted in a loud voice that the English were all Luthero-Calvinists. "It is evident, Sir Professor," said the abbot, "that you are ill-informed in regard to the belief of the English Christians. *I*, however, have closely studied the liturgy of the British nation which, it is beyond doubt, is no other than that of St. James, the Lord's brother. The Christians who have such a liturgy are evidently orthodox in faith, even though their canonical status, owing to their remoteness and isolation, is somewhat irregular."

795 798 It is perhaps only fair to add that other travellers have on occasion met with a less encouraging response to their efforts to diffuse a more exact knowledge of our own liturgical life. Dr. Hunt, for example, who visited Mount Athos at the end of the eighteenth century, and who relates that: "In conversation with their prelates and well educated caloyers [from *kalogeros*—literally, 'good old man'—a common word for a monk], I so often found what I judged to be religious moderation, that I was once induced to show them a Greek version of the English liturgy; but when they saw that we kept Easter at the time fixed by the Gregorian or Romish calendar, and that we laid down no precise rules about the mode of fasting . . . I saw such a disposition for controversy arise, that I ever afterwards abstained from all allusion to similar subjects." Times have changed but little on the holy mountain, and the traveller may still encounter monks who, when topics such as fasting on Saturday are in question, will yield nothing in polemical ardour to the most celebrated patterns of orthodoxy who flourished in Byzantine days.

795 Now it is surely evident that the Greek Christian's conception of Christendom differs radically from any that prevails in the west: not least from that of the English churchman who, if he looks beyond the bounds of the *Ecclesia Anglicana*, finds his view blocked by the leviathan of Old Rome on the one hand and Protestant Nonconformity on the other. All that the Greek has in mind when he speaks of the Church lies unseen and forgotten beneath the horizon of this shrunken world. Vanished is that more spacious Christendom wherein the one faith was confessed and the one eucharist offered from Malabar to the misty

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the effect of the Turkish dominion was to foster—perhaps to excess—an attitude which was already discernible in Byzantine days and which always made for a certain liveliness in ecclesiastical affairs.

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During the last few years it has been becoming increasingly clear that the episode which may, for the sake of brevity, be referred to as '1054 and all that' has gained a far more important place in our text-books of European history than it justly merits. No longer is it possible to regard the schism of Cerularius as marking the decisive breach between eastern Christendom and the west. A date which seemed to hold out to the struggling schoolboy a refuge no less secure than that of the Conqueror's triumph at Hastings has been swept away, to leave him floundering in the troubled waters of speculation and surmise. But whatever the immediate causes of the disastrous breach which was to divide Christendom into warring factions, and which underlies all our western divisions, there can be little question that far the greatest factor in the hardening of the schism was the invasion of the Levant by the crusading Franks, the sack of Constantinople and the establishment of a Latin hierarchy. These unhappy events made an impression upon the Greek mind that the passing of eight centuries has not effaced.

The legend of Frankish aggression—unhistorical and confused though it be—lives on in our own day especially amongst the monks. Pope Innocent III, Michael Palaeologus, the Patriarch Bekkos, the Catalans who established themselves in the Kassandra peninsula at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and Pope Eugenius IV, who flourished more than a century later, are all confounded in a wild farrago of monkish imagination and prejudice. The Pope, attended by Frankish soldiers and executioners, presides over the martyrdom of the twenty-six monks of Zographou, and terrible stories are still to be heard on the holy mountain of the gruesome fate that befell the renegade monks who took part in the Latin mass at the Lavra. In a painting at the Serbian convent of Chilandari the Pope appears in the company of Mahomet and the arch-heretic Arius, and the earth opens and swallows them up together.

The traveller in monastic Greece must not, therefore, be surprised to find that an unwary allusion to the Pope can still conjure up in the imagination of a Greek monk a nightmare figure far surpassing the inventions of the most rabid Protestant. I recall one such reference to

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the servant of the servants of God which drew from a gentle old monk of the Great Meteoron the question: "The Pope is very *fanatikos*, is he not?" It is no light task to break down so vast a barrier of prejudice, especially when suspicion of the Frankish unbelievers (*apistoi*) has been confirmed by generations of bitterly resented proselytism.

Amongst the theologians, needless to say, more enlightened notions now prevail. One may indeed rejoice at the spread of a truly irenical outlook within the last few years, fostered, on the one hand, by the discovery of the recognisably 'evangelical' and patristic tendencies so richly manifest in recent French theology; and, on the other, by the conduct of the small Catholic minority during the fiery trial of the occupation, when many clergy and laity showed that (contrary to popular belief), it was possible to be an ardent patriot as well as a Catholic. To the great mass of Greek Christians outside Athens and the islands of the Aegean, nevertheless, the Church of Rome is still essentially a foreign body: a Frankish mission dimly associated with all manner of mediaeval atrocities: 'the Pope' is held responsible not only for the expulsion of the monks of Daphni by the Frankish Dukes of Athens and the excesses of the crusaders, but also for the errors of the *methodistai*, the Christian Scientists and other western 'innovators'.

The persistence of Greek national sentiment throughout the centuries of Turkish rule has been justly described as one of the most remarkable phenomena of modern history. It is from this epoch that there springs that identification of Church and nation which, despite certain fairly obvious dangers, is still an incomparable source of strength to the Greek people. During the dark days of oppression every national aspiration was fostered and preserved by the Church. The Patriarch of Constantinople was not merely chief hierarch of the Greek Church but also the recognised head of the whole Greek community, and as such he stood between his people and their overlords. In thousands of rural communities the parish priest and the schoolmaster kept alive the traditions of Christian Hellas, and when the day of liberation dawned it was an Archbishop of Patras who raised the standard of revolt: the national martyr, the Patriarch Gregory V, who was hanged by the Turks from the gateway of the patriarchate.

Religion and patriotism are still inextricably mingled in Greece. Hellas, when all is said as to the spread of secularism and indifference, remains a Christian nation in a sense of which we in the west can have but little conception. It was a Christian nation that performed miracles

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the small country towns which serve as centres for the ecclesiastical administration. Here many of them remained for three years. Some, and those the most fortunate, were able to build themselves wooden houses or *kalyvai*; others were lodged in huts; multitudes, especially in Macedonia, lived (often twenty or twenty-five families together) in old Turkish houses; those who fared worst of all had to be content with hastily improvised shelters of mud and thatch, or even to pass the bitter months of winter in tents. By the end of 1948 the number of the refugees exceeded 700,000: for the second time within ten years a tenth part of the whole nation was homeless. The country towns were packed with refugees: not a ruined cottage or a stable but sheltered two or three families. Some words from Thomas Alcock's *Travels in Russia, Persia, Turkey and Greece in 1828-29* might well have been written 120 years later: "Nothing in Greece", says this traveller, "can more forcibly give an idea of the war that has been carried on, than finding on inquiry that not a third of the residents in any place are natives of it, but only sojourners there, till security is afforded them in their own birth-places."

The parish clergy fled with their people to the comparative security of the towns, but the priest was a marked man and many failed to make good their escape. No less than 239 priests and monks were done to death by the Communists alone, and seventy-seven by the Germans, while a further forty-seven died at the hands of Bulgars, Italians or Albanian moslems. Of the total number of 363 the majority (297 to be precise) were parish priests: no single category of the population sustained heavier casualties in the slaughter of these years than the village *papades*.

"I triumphed", says De Quincey, "but infer not, reader, a condition of joy or exultation." Not all of those who died were men of the quality of the heroic parish priest of the village of Megarchis, Papa George Skrekas, who was crucified by the Communists on Good Friday, 1947. Nor, needless to add, did every Christian who suffered for the faith during the first three centuries of our era embrace death with the ardour of an Ignatius or the serenity of a Polycarp. The Church of Greece has ever been rich in martyrs, and there are not a few names—unknown though they be to Christendom at large—which have been added during the last ten years to the roll of those who will be remembered in the mountain dioceses whenever the Church gathers for the eucharist:

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A DAY OF WASTENESS AND DESOLATION

"Thy Church, O Christ our God, in all the world is adorned with the blood of thy martyrs as with purple and fine linen."

But for every village *papas* who died, a dozen fled to the shelter of the nearest fortified post. Some went further afield, to live with relatives in Athens or the Piraeus, and in 1949 many bishops had, in addition to their catalogue of refugee clergy, a further list of those who were 'missing'—whose fate and whereabouts were unknown. Often a very large proportion of the clergy of a diocese were homeless: seventy-five of the ninety-three parish priests of the diocese of Grevena, for example, had been forced to abandon their parishes by the winter of 1948-49; while in the neighbouring see of Trikka and Staghi there were at that time no less than ninety-nine refugee clergy. The Lord Nikephoros, Metropolitan of Kastoria, told me that his sixty-three homeless *papades* included eighteen men, recently ordained after completing their training at the Kozani seminary, who had had no parochial experience under normal conditions. The economic situation of the refugee clergy was peculiarly difficult, deprived as they were of their fees as well as their lands.

It is doubtful whether anything—not even the carrying off of Greek children to territories beyond the iron curtain—did more to deprive the Communists of any vestige of sympathy in the country districts of Greece than their barbarous treatment of churches and clergy. The impassioned harangues of the Communist schoolmaster could avail but little, in the face of this desecration of holy things, to commend his cause to a people whose deepest loyalties had been outraged. What could be expected of men who burned down churches and defaced the eikons of the saints; who laid their infernal engines within the very sanctuary before the holy table; who crucified priests, and pillaged the monasteries where prayer had been offered for the whole state of Christ's Church from time immemorial? What could words avail the unhappy perpetrators of such terrible deeds? The 'Accursed of God' might burn and pillage and make fervent protestation of the surpassing excellence of their aims, they could not wipe out the impression created by their manifest hatred of the Church. As after the disclosure of the atrocities committed during the battle for Athens and the Piraeus in December, 1944, so in the face of these new horrors, there was a widespread reluctance to admit that Greeks could perpetrate such deeds. The men who did such things must be Slavs or Bulgars—no Greek could be capable of such crimes against God and against his own nation.

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491 snows, westwards towards Metsovo and Epirus. To the southward a few paths—impassable save on foot during the winter months—gave access to Kalambaka and the plains of Thessaly.

793 After paying my respects to the colonel in command of the garrison I plunged afresh into the inland sea and struck out for the metropolis: a simple cottage where the Bishop rented a couple of rooms. The Lord Theokletos—a monumental figure in an ungirt robe of indigo—looked [785] strangely out of place in such a setting. The Friday fast was waived out [574] of regard to the presence of a traveller, and when we had eaten the Metropolitan told me something of the state of his diocese. It was a gloomy picture that he outlined.

722 Owing to the remoteness of the district and its poor communications 793 almost every village had been abandoned by its inhabitants from 1947 727 till the summer of 1949. Grevena itself, a comopolis with a pre-war population in the region of 3,500, had, for more than two years, sheltered five times that number of refugees. During the past six months it had been possible for the people to return to certain villages situated in the northern part of the diocese, but there were reputed to be more than 2,000 families still living in the great refugee camp on the southern fringes of the town, and sixty-four of the diocese's ninety-six villages were still, after three years, uninhabited. Many of the fugitives had fled southwards to Kalambaka, Trikkala and Larissa; others had sought refuge in Kozani.

The refugees had included seventy-five parish priests, only sixteen of whom had as yet been able to return to their villages. Two priests had been done to death by the Germans; three others, as well as three monks, murdered by the Communists. As recently as October, 1949, the solitary occupant of the monastery of St. Athanasius, close to the village of Trikomon, had returned home after two years' exile, despite the advice of the Bishop and others who counselled him to wait two or three months longer, only to be brutally murdered within the space of a • [798] few days. It was when matters were at their worst that the Bishop formed his clerical militia and drilled his venerable warriors in the square where stands the monument to his predecessor in the see of Grevena, the Metropolitan Aimilianos, who had suffered death at the hands of the Turks in 1911 and is revered in this region as a martyr. This redoubtable force had never been called upon to take the field against the Accursed of God, but, said the Lord Theokletos, it had served as an example.

As to the destruction of churches, it seemed that some months must

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GRAVE AND DIFFERENT GARMENTS

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To worship without incense is commonly regarded as one of the innovations of the Catholics. There is a story of an English churchman who was catechised by some Orthodox monks (I fancy that they were Serbs) as to the practice of the *Ecclesia Anglicana*.

"Do you, in your divine worship", they demanded, "invariably offer incense?"

The Englishman confessed that this evangelical custom was not observed at every service within the territories of the Metropolitan of Canterbury.

"Ah!" said the monks, shaking their heads at this irrefutable testimony to the spread of popery: "We knew that you were tainted with Catholicism!"

Let not the western Protestant be dismayed if his refusal to burn incense in his churches is interpreted by the Orthodox not as a sign of his adherence to evangelical tradition but, on the contrary, as a badge of popery. I have always suspected that my Greek friends must find it extraordinarily difficult to enter into the history of the 'ritualistic' controversies of the latter part of the nineteenth century, since the issues at stake are so remote from their own experience. What *can* one make of muddle-headed *barbaroi* who are so perverse as to regard the observance of evangelical customs as evidence of the continuing influence of the Arch-Protestant?